FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

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Fukuzawa in 1862.
(From a photograph taken at the Hague.)

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI,

AUTHOR AND SCHOOLMASTER.

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Three times in Japanese history important political reforms have been associated with a corresponding advance of learning and literature. The establishment of a fixed capital at Nara, and the great extension of the effective authority of the Crown in the 8th century, coincided with the production of a noble body of poetry, and was followed by the Augustan age of Japanese prose; and the organization of the Tokugawa Shōgunate was accompanied by a remarkable impetus to Chinese learning, which gave rise a little later to the varied and voluminous Yedo literature. We are now witnessing the third of these movements, which is eclipsing in importance both its predecessors. When its history comes to be written, an interesting chapter must be devoted to an account of the Dutch studies which prepared the way for a more general knowledge of the learning of the West, and the overthrow of the time-honoured intellectual domonion of China.

The college of Dutch interpreters at Nagasaki was at first instituted for purely practical commercial purposes. But by degrees some attention was paid to European learning. The art of medicine was more especially studied. It was an important

day for Japan when (in 1771) a small band of Japanese physicians assembled at the execution-ground of Kozuka Hara to see the dissection of a criminal by the public headsman. They had with them a Dutch treatise on anatomy, which they had found to differ totally from the traditional Chinese description of the internal organs. Which was correct? This was the important question which was now to be decided. To us, of course, it is a foregone conclusion, but we can imagine the astonishment with which these men realized that all their fathers had believed and taught was a delusion. And if the Dutch were right and the Chinese wrong as regards anatomy, why not in other matters also? A later generation of students found that in military matters too Europe was far the superior of China. As time went on, the study of Dutch extended. It was prosecuted with great zeal and under difficulties of which we can have little conception, by such men as Ōtsuki, Ogata, Udagawa, and Mitsukuri.

Among the pupils of Ogata was FUKUZAWA YUKICHI. We are fortunate in possessing his autobiography (1899), which rivals in candour Rousseau's famous *Confessions*. From this interesting document of the great Japanese Revolution, I have extracted the following details. FUKUZAWA YUKICHI was born at Ōsaka early in 1835, on the 12th day of the 12th Japanese month. According to Japanese reckoning, he therefore reached the age of two when he was three weeks old. His father was a samurai of inferior rank belonging to the Daimiate, or *Han*, of Nakatsu in Buzen. It was his business to conduct the commercial relations of his *Han* at Ōsaka with the merchants of that city. This post was by no means to his liking. He was a Chinese scholar of the old school, which disdained filthy lucre

and abominated the multiplication table. This distaste for arithmetic, it may be observed, was one of the weak points of the old feudal *régime*.

Fukuzawa the elder died a year or two after the birth of his youngest son, Yukichi. His widow and her five children then, returned to Nakatsu, where they lived in great poverty on a small pension granted them by the *Han* authorities. The house which they occupied was so small that when his mother had a few friends to tea or *saké*, Yukichi was obliged to retire to a cupboard until they had gone. His education was completely neglected. There was no servant, and his mother was far too much engaged with household work to teach him anything. It was not until he was fourteen or fifteen that he began to feel ashamed of not being able to read or write. He then went to school, but was dissatisfied with his teachers and changed about from one to another until he found one to his mind. With him he made rapid progress, and became ultimately a good Chinese scholar, though in after-life he took a pleasure in posing as a despiser of Chinese learning. He was a handy fellow, full of resources. If the lock of the cupboard would not open, if something fell into the well—in short, when anything went wrong, Yukichi was always summoned. Mending shoes or paper slides, hooping tubs, stoping a leak in the roof,—nothing came amiss to him. He actually made himself a sword with its appurtenances—badly enough, he admits. He cared little for appearances, and thought it no disgrace to bring home openly articles of food which he had brought in the market. He had no reverence for the *Kami* or Buddha, trampling secretly on cards inscribed with their names and putting them to vile purposes. The fact that nothing happened as the consequence

of these outrages confirmed him in his atheistical principles, which he retained all his life. He once opened the box which contained the Shintai ("god-body") of a shrine of Inari, and finding the god to be a stone, threw it away and substituted another, chuckling mightily, when the festival day came round, to see the honours paid to the divinity of his selection. Fukuzawa's boyhood was not altogether happy. There was something of Ōsaka about the speech, clothing, and manners of the whole family which made the Nakatsu children look upon them as strangers. The stringent *samurai* etiquette and the arrogant, supercilious behaviour to him of boys of higher rank galled him grievously. This, with the utter tedium of life in Nakatsu, made him long to get away from it. At the age of seventeen he made up his mind to go to Nagasaki to study Dutch, with the object of learning something of gunnery—a subject which was then coming into notice. (Commodore Perry had first reached Japan in the previous year.) Fukuzawa spat behind him when he left his home. At Nagasaki he obtained an introduction to a scholar named Yamamoto, into whose household he entered as *isōrō*, or hanger-on. He taught the Chinese classics to Yamamoto's son, fetched water, talked to the duns whose visits were pretty numerous, swept the house, borrowed money, helped his master in his bath, and attended to the wants of the mistress's lap-dog and pet cat. He gave so much satisfaction that Yamamoto offered to adopt him.

Fukuzawa's stay at Nagasaki was not a long one. He incurred the displeasure of the chief official of his *Han* at that place, who, instead of simply ordering him home, took a means of getting rid of him characteristic of the time and country. He communicated with a friend of the Fukuzawa family residing

in Nakatsu, instructing him to tell Fukuzawa that his mother was very ill, and that he should return home at once. The friend did so, but enclosed with his letter a private note, saying that there was nothing wrong with his mother, and that he had written by order. Fukuzawa was very angry, but he controlled himself. He went to his Karō,[1] or chief, and said, putting on as dejected an air as possible, "I have just received a letter from Nakatsu, sir, to say that my mother has been taken suddenly ill. This is strange, as she has always enjoyed such excellent health. I am very anxious about her." The chief pretended great astonishment, and said, "That is very sad. You had better go home at once. I will arrange for you to come back again as soon as she has recovered." Fukuzawa offered to take charge of any letters for Nakatsu, and took his leave. He started a day or two later, but without the slightest intention of going home. Yedo was his proposed destination. But when he reached Ōsaka, penniless and footsore, he was glad to accept his brother's advice to remain there and study Dutch under the famous scholar, Ogata. He entered his school in 1855. His brother died in the following year, and Fukuzawa thus became, much against his will, the head of the family. He was obliged to go to Nakatsu in order to take over the inheritance. When the debts were paid, nothing was left. In the ordinary course of things, Fukuzawa would have received a small appointment under the *Han*, but he could not endure the idea of burying himself in Nakatsu, and petitioned the *Han* authorities for permission to go to Ōsaka in order to study Dutch. The official whose duty it was to open such petitions happened to be a

1 *Karō*, a *Daimio*'s Councillor.

personal friend of Fukuzawa's. He sent for him. "This will never do," he said. "You will never get leave to go to Ōsaka if you say it is to study Dutch. Put 'gunnery,' and you will find it will be all right." Fukuzawa objected that, as all the world knew that Ogata was a doctor of the Dutch school, it would be too absurd to talk of going to him for gunnery instruction. He yielded, however, and rewrote his petition accordingly, with the desired result. Everybody thought him mad. He had a terrible scene with his uncle, but his mother supported him, although he was her only remaining son. There was not a soul to see him off.

On arriving at Osaka, Fukuzawa was entirely without resources, and Ogata generously took him in as a boarder without payment. It is true that the cost of his maintenance could not have been great. The usual diet of the students was rice and a few vegetables. It was varied occasionally by a little cheap stale fish which they bought in the market and cooked for themselves. Beef was another rare luxury. It was to be had at two places in Osaka, frequented only by tattooed street-loafers (larrikins, or corner-boys, as we might say) and by Ogata's students. They never asked whether the animal had been slaughtered or had died of disease. They usually went naked except at meals and at classes, when it was considered more correct to wear some sort of garment. Nearly all of them had pawned their two swords. Among sixty or eighty students there were only three or four of these weapons, which were regarded as common property and worn (one sword only) when any one had occasion to go out. Their conduct in the streets was on a level with their shabby appearance. People whom they met, especially young women, were careful to give the rowdy Ogata

shosei a wide berth. Fukuzawa relates several stories which illustrate the common opinion held of them by the inhabitants. A live pig having fallen into the hands of a restaurant-keeper, he did not know what to do with it. He himself said that he was too soft-hearted to kill it, but his real reason, no doubt, was that the slaughtering of animals was fit work for *yeta* (pariahs) only. So he made a bargain with some Ogata students (as the next meanest class of humanity) that they should kill the animal on condition of receiving the head as their perquisite. The amateur butchers perfomed their share of the contract by tying the four legs of the pig together, taking him down to the river which flowed close by, and drowning him! They then took home the head of the animal which had been done to death in this irregular way, and dissected carefully the eyes, brain, etc., ending the day by a supper in which a stew of the results of the dissection furnished the chief dish.

On another occasion an apothecary, who had got a bear, invited the Ogata students to come and dissect it. They went most willingly, but found that the real object of this apparently courteous invitation was the selfish one of getting them to point out the gall-bladder, which was wanted for the apothecary's business, and which he did not know how to find himself. When this end was attained, he dismissed them curtly. Great was the students' indignation. They formed a committee, with a president and secretary, and appointed deputies to go and demand satisfaction for the affront. They succeeded so well in terrifying the apothecary, that he and his friends not only tendered a humble apology, but provided *saké,* fowl, and fish as the materials of a banquet rare for its magnificence in the animals of the Ogata Institute.

Fukuzawa himself was no better than his fellows. He tells us how he threatened to cut down a nurseryman who had wounded the delicate honour of the Ogata students. It was all a pretence on his part. A fellow-student entered into the joke, and made believe to pacify Fukuzawa. Between them they threw the whole neighbourhood into an uproar until Fukuzawa at length allowed himself to be appealed by a bystander. The poor nurseryman, however, had to promise never to set up his stall there in future. It is, perhaps, needless to remark that there were no street constables in Ōsaka in those days. The Ogata students were not quite so dangerous as they appeared. Fukuzawa never struck any human being in his life, and although lively discussions were frequent in the college, there never was any quarrelling, much less blows. A more serious matter which he confesses to was their practice of conveying home with them from tea-houses, unconsidered trifles such as tea-cups. He adds that the landlord probably knew very well what was done, and charged the amount in his bill.

But enough of the meaner side of life in the Ogata College. What was the motive which induced these half-naked, impecunious, ill-fed youths of defective minor morals—compared with whom the poorest student of a Scotch University is a veritable sybarite—to "scorn delights and live laborious days"? It was not the hope of wealth or fame. "Dutch scholar" was in those days a term of reproach, and the practitioner of Dutch medicine was far less liberally remunerated than was his Chinese compeer. Wise after the event, we recognize in them the pioneers of that great intelectual and political movement which in Meiji has raised Japan to its present honourable position among the nations. But the Ogata students had no consciousness of this

kind to sustain them. Their sole actuating motive was a thirst for knowledge for its own sake. They had in some measure grasped the fact, all important for Japan, of the superiority of European science to the time-honoured puerilities of China, and, as naturally as plants in a dark room, turned to the quarter whence a glimmer of light appeared. They had no doubt at all upon the subject. Whatever individual differences there might be among them, they were to a man ardent students. The difficulties they had to contend with cannot be realized by us. The college library consisted of ten Dutch books of medicine and natural philosophy. As soon as the first rudiments of grammar were mastered, the student set about making copies of these works for his own use, and among so many candidates for the privilege of copying them, it was often necessary for him to take his turn by lot. In their study hours it was a point of honour with them not to give or receive help of any kind. They had to hammer out of the meaning of their text-books by themselves as best they could. The college possessed two dictionaries, one of Dutch and Japanese, the other an ordinary Dutch dictionary with difinitions in the Dutch language. The latter could, of course, only be used by students who had attained to a considerable proficiency. These books were too big to copy, and in the "Dictionary Room" there might usually be seen a group of five or ten students seated round the precious volumes, and taking their turns in consulting them. There were class readings before the professor at intervals of four or five days. These were apparently the only times when instruction was given. On the night previous, not even the laziest student lay down to sleep. White balls were awarded to those who construed correctly the passages assigned to them, and black balls to those who failed. Prizes, scholarships, commissions, or

fellowships foe sucessful students were, needless to say, things unheard of and unimagined.

Chemistry had a great attention for them. They were always making experiments with the most primitive and inadequate means. They succeeded in plating iron with zinc. An attempt to make iodine was a failure. They distilled ammonia out of bones and horses' hoofs, but the stench was so horrible that the experiment had to be removed from the college to the courtyard, and from the courtyard to a boat on the river. For days afterwards their clothes gave out a perfume which made the dogs to howl at them. They eagerly dissected dogs, cats, or criminals, whenever the opportunity offered. One day Ogata showed Fukuzawa, then the senior student, a Dutch book which he had borrowed from Kuroda, the *Daimio* of Chikuzen, under whom he held a nominal appointment as physician. It was the latest work on Natural Philosophy which had then reached Japan. A glance at the contents filled Fukuzawa with admiration. "How long can we have this book?" he asked Ogata. "Perhaps for one night," was the reply. Fukuzawa took it into the common room, whereupon the students flocked round him to inspect the treasure. "It is no use looking at it," said Fukuzawa. "We must have it copied." But as it was a work of 1000 pages, it was hopeless to think of copying the whole in the short time at their disposal. They had therefore to limit themselves to the most important part—150 or 160 pages in all. A system of relays was arranged, by which the work of copying went on without interruption until it was completed. Englishmen will be pleased to know that the chapters which had excited so much interest and admiration contained an account of Faraday's latest discoveries in electricity. The *Daimio* (a fine old gentleman,

whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making a few years later) carried off the precious volume the next evening. The students parted with it as from a father, passing it from hand to hand with many caresses.

In accordance with instructions from his *Han* autholities, Fukuzawa proceeded to Yedo in 1858, in order to open a school for the study of Dutch. His ability and attainments were soon recognized by the Dutch scholars of the capital. In 1859. Yokohama was opened to foreign trade. Fukuzawa took an early opportunity of visiting it. In the space of twenty-four hours he walked there and back—forty miles in all—and returned weary and footsore. That, however, was nothing to his depression at finding that the Dutch which he had so laboriously acquired was of no use to him. He could not even read the signboards over the shops or the notices in the windows. The necessity of learning English, therefore, became clear to him, and this he thought meant another long course of hard study. He got little encouragement from his friends the Dutch scholars in Yedo. "Anything of value in English," they said, "was always translated into Dutch." But this did not satisfy Fukuzawa.. He looked about him for the means of learning English. Moriyama, the well-known English interpreter, repeatedly mentioned in Sir Rutherford Alcock's Capital of the *Tycoon,* was willing to impart what little he himself knew, but his time was so much occupied that Fukuzawa was soon compelled to give up the hope of learning anything from him. He then heard that the *Kaiseijo* (the forerunner of the Imperial University) had English dictionaries, and he matriculated there purposely in order to be allowed their use, only to find that when he proposed to carry one off to his own lodgings, this was not permitted. He lived

several miles away, and could not go to the *Kaiseijo* every time he wanted to consult a dictionary; so this plan, too, had to be abandoned. At last he got an English-Dutch dictionary, which enabled him to make some little progress. The pronunciation, as we may well imagine, gave him great trouble; on the other hand, he soon found that his Dutch acquirements were of far greater use to him than he had supposed. In 1860 a golden opportunity offered for improving his knowledge of English. The Japanese Government in this year despatched a mission to America on board a vessel which they had purchased from the Dutch. It was a bold undertaking. The navigation was entirely in the hands of Japanese officers and sailors, though, perhaps, they were not sorry to have on board a shipwrecked American captain and a few sailors, who were returning to their country by this opportunity. The ship itself was practically a sailing-vessel, though she had auxiliary steam-power, used only for leaving and entering port. Fukuzawa offered his services to one of the officers of this expedition. Somewhat to his surprise, his offer was accepted without difficulty. It seemed that volunteers were not precisely numerous. They had atrocious weather on the passage, lost two boats, and ran short of water, but eventually reached San Francisco safely after a passage of thirty-seven days.

The Americans showed them the greatest hospitality, providing free quarters for them on shore, entertaining them most liberally, and even docking and repairing their ship free of charge. Everything of interest that San Francisco affords was freely shown them. Fukuzawa was bored by the explanations of such things as electro-plating, and the use of a vacuum in sugar-refining, which he understood as well as his hosts. On the other hand,

he tells us of the intense interest with which he first looked on carriage. With the wheels and the horse before his eyes, he might have been expected to see that it was something to ride in. Not so, however. It was not until the door was opened, he was invited to enter, and the horse started off, drawing after him the whole arrangement, that Fukuzawa at last made the discovery that this was one of the horse-carriages he had read of in books. He wondered to see the floors of the great rooms of the hotels covered with carpets, a material which, in Japan, was too expensive to use for anything but such small articles as pocket-books and tobacco-pouches. The quantity of old iron lying about on the beach and on waste grounds, was another surprise to him. In Japan, after a fire, there is always a scramble for the possession of old nails and the like which are found among the *débris*. The high prices of everything were also a matter of amazement to him. But the most extraordinary sight of all was the ridiculous way in which men and women, attired in strange fashion, flew about the room, "dancing," as they called it. It required all the native politeness of Fukuzawa and his companions to make them refrain from laughing outright at this absurd behaviour on the part of their hospitable entertainers. I must not omit to mention one important result of this visit. Fukuzawa brought back with him to Japan a Webster's dictionary, the first of many copies of that work to be imported. Another purchase by one of the officers was an umbrella. He said, truly, that if any one were to walk along the main street of Yedo with it, he would be cut down before he reached Nihon-bashi. Japan now exports £70,000 worth of these articles annually.

On his return to Japan, Fukuzawa resumed his teaching, and added English to the curriculum. His school increased

greatly, and he was also employed by the *Shōgun's* Government in translating official papers. In 1860 he published his first work, a translation of a Chinese-English vocabulary.

In 1861-2 he accompanied a Japanese embassy to Europe. Fukuzawa gives an amusing account of their preparations, which included a stock of rice, some large official paper lanterns, and other things of no possible use on a European tour. They provided themselves with Mexican dollars for their expenses. The exchange with Japanese coin was at the moment unfavourable; but one of the officials, having discovered that the Mitsui bank had bought a quantity of these coins cheap some time before, claimed that Mitsui should supply them to the mission at the same rate. Strange to say, the agent of the bank complied with this preposterous request. Perhaps he saw his way to recoup himself in some other manner.

In Paris the ambassadors thought no one hotel could accommodate them and their suite, and expressed a desire that the latter should be found lodgings near themselves. "How many are you?" the Paris officials asked. "Thirty or more," was the reply. "Is that all?" said he. "We can find you a hotel which will hold you all ten or twenty times over."

In St. Petersburg Fukuzawa received offers of employment which he kept strictly secret from his chiefs. He and his fellow-interpreters were regarded by them with great suspicion; they were not allowed to go about without some more reliable officer to accompany them. During this visit to Europe Fukuzawa greedily drank in the information which he afterwards gave to the Japanese public in his *Seiyō Jijō,* a title which we may render freely by *Things European.*

When he returned to Japan, he found his country in a very unsatisfactory condition. There were many murders, not only of foreigners but of distinguished Japanese who were credited with a pro-foreign policy. Japanese students of foreign languages also attracted the attention of the assassins, much to the alarm of Fukuzawa, who was by nature a timid man. In one of his houses he had a place of concealment constructed under the floor, to which he might retire in case of an attack. He made it a rule, to which he adhered strictly for many years, never to go out at night. Once he so far forgot himself in the company of some other scholars as to remain out until after midnight. He was returning home by moonlight through the streets of Yedo, when he saw approaching from the opposite direction a solitary *samurai*, who, to Fukuzawa's excited imagination, appeared of gigantic stature. But it was too late to run away, so he put a bold face on it, and, leaving his own side of the road, crossed the street diagonally towards the stranger. To his horror, the latter—in no wise intimidated—executed a similar manœuvre; still he went on, and a bloody encounter seemed inevitable, when, just at the critical moment, Fukuzawa's courage failed him. He took to his heels and fled. After he had run some distance, he ventured to look back, when, lo and behold! his antagonist was also in full flight, in the opposite direction.

Fukuzawa's fears of assassination were by no means groundless. The present writer lived in Yedo in 1866 and 1867, and could give many details illustrating the unsafe condition of that city at that time both for foreigners and pro-foreign Japanese. Fukuzawa on one occassion narrowly escaped assassination by his intending murderers quarelling among themselves for the privilege of the first blow. A near relative of his own was one of the

party. In the closing days of the Shōgunate, Fukuzawa was much employed by the Foreign Office in preparing translations of official correspondence. Of course he was not allowed to take it home with him, but he made a *précis* from memory which he showed to his friends. At this time a high Yokohama official was imprisoned and condemned to commit *harakiri,* because, in a private letter he had causually let fall the very true observation that Japan had great need of wise rulers. This awoke Fukuzawa to the danger he had incurred by divulging Government secrets. He burned his *précis* of the despatches, but was long in terror lest some of the friends to whom he had shown it should let out the secret. He was much relieved when the Revolution of 1868 put an end to his anxiety.

In 1867 he paid a second visit to America, as a member of a mission respecting the purchase of two men-of-war by Japan. Fukuzawa seems to say that, owing to the carelessness or incompetence of the officials concerned, the second of these vessels was paid for twice over. He gives other instances of the incapacity and folly of the *Shōgun's* officials at this time. The only credit he will allow them is that they had fine, though arrogant manners, and a most dignified style of speaking. This was undoubtedly the case. But he saw little to choose, as regards enlightenment, between them and the men who overturned and succeeded them. Both, he considered, were in their hearts *Jōi* ("barbarian-expellers"). He does very scant justice to the leaders of the great *Meiji* Revolution. Fukuzawa, however, can not be reckoned as a politician. His timid disposition disqualified him from taking part in or even from judging rightly of affairs which required not only acuteness, but a robust and fearless temper of mind.

After 1868 Fukuzawa's career, though active, was uneventful. Refusing all offers of official employment, he devoted himself to his school, which flourished more and more until it numbered hundreds of pupils. For their instruction an increasing staff of professors was required, and he had twice to remove to more commodious quarters. On the second of these occasions, he was fortunate enough to secure a *Daimio's Yashiki* for less than a hundredth part of what the site would now bring. He gives a long description of the rules and discipline of his school. Each pupils had a printed book to himself—a great change from the system of the Ogata College a few years before. No politics were allowed, and at the very time of the Revolution students of both parties met there on a friendly footing. Regular monthly school fees were levied, instead of the old-fashioned system of occasional presents. If a pupil wrapped his money in paper, adding the conventional tokens of a present, viz. *Noshi* and *Midzushiki*, the latter were removed and handed back to him. There were severe regulations against scribbling on paper slides or lanterns, and the student was forbidden to waste his time and that of his professors by long formal salutations when they met in the corridors of the college.

Fukuzawa says he made little money as a schoolmaster. He seems to have adopted the principle of profit-sharing with his staff, and not much remained over for Fukuzawa himself. They were all deeply interested in the success and fame of the school. If there was any dispute among them about payments, it arose from somebody complaining that he was offered too much. His chief income was derived from his books. After some experiences with publishers, not unlike those of certain authors in London, he took to buying his paper wholesale, and employing his own

printers and binders. The booksellers were allowed a fixed commission on the sales. He must have earned a good deal by his writings, as he was able to send two of his sons to America and a nephew to England for their education. I cannot enter into the details of his career as an author. His publications had one object—to make known to his countrymen the ideas and manners and customs of the West.

Fukuzawa, in his autobiography, discourses a great length and with surprising candour of his own principles and morals. He seems to have had no religion. His morals were the traditional morals of his family and nation, though not consciously based on the teachings of China. His great vice was a too great fondness for *saké*. Even when he was a small child, his mother found that the only plan to keep him quiet when his head was being shaved was to promise him some *saké*. As a student he was too poor to indulge this propensity very often, but when the impulse became too strong, he would sometimes even sell his clothes for drink. In after-years he indulged more freely, until failing health warned him to be more temperate. His life in order respects was pure both in word and act. His confessions of cowardice and of petty acts of dishonesty have already been noted. To this may be added that he, like many other *samurai*, looked upon the treasury of the *Han* as a fair object of plunder (just as otherwise respectable people think it no harm to "convey" furs and other valuables from deserted shops in Peking). On one occasion, Fukuzawa, hearing that the *Han* was well supplied with money, boldly asked for a loan of 150 *rio*. The responsible official hesitatingly said something which might be construed as a consent, upon which Fukuzawa went straight to the treasurer, and persuaded him to pay out the money. He had not the slightest

intention of restoring it. At another time he sold a valuable Dutch book to the *Han*. Immediately afterwards he obtained a loan of the same book, which he took care should be permanent. These incident illustrate, not any special want of principle on Fukuzawa's part, but the rotten condition of the whole *Daimio* system at the time. Fukuzawa, in his late life, was ashamed of them, and showed himself disinterested and even scrupulous in money matters. Having concluded a verbal agreement to purchase a *yashiki* for his school, troubles ensued which made the owners of such property glad to sell at any price. Fukuzawa, however, firmly resisted the advice of a friend to take advantage of this state of things to reduce the promised payment. He would not allow a clerk of a steamship company to issue half a ticket for his son, who was slightly over the age for such a privilege. He never borrowed money nor pawned anything in his life.

Since this Paper was announced, the news has been received of Fukuzawa's death by apoplexy at the age of 66. Both as author and as schoolmaster he did good service to his country. His memory will long be cherished by his numerous pupils and his countrymen as the most distinguished of those interpreters between the East and West who have aided so effectively in making Japan what she now is.

The Chairman, Mr. A. Diosy, said that the admirable paper they had just heard, so replete with information about Fukuzawa's life taken from his own memoirs, and full of that dry humour Mr. Aston knew so well how to use, would give ample material for discussion. Several late pupils of Fukuzawa, and others who had had the honour of knowing that great man, were present. Mr. I. Sugi, a Candidate for Membership of the Society, had kindly lent a photograph of Fukuzawa which, however, did not

show quite the appearance he presented during the last few years, when he had grown a beard. Mr. Sugi, a pupil of Fukuzawa, had only recently arrived in England. It had often been said that the teaching in Japanese schools only "crammed" the mind and did not form character, but when they heard more about Mr. Sugi they would find this was not always the case. Mr. Sugi was an official of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, under Sir Robert Hart, and was one of the gallant little band who assisted in the defence of the Legations in Peking. It was he who decipherd the message brought by a dog, and it was also Mr. Sugi who penned the delightfully impertinent messages which were sent back to the Chinese.

Mr. I. Sugi expressed his pleasure on hearing the Paper, and said it was most interesting to himself personally. Mr. Aston had left him nothing to say on the subject. It was a source of great gratification to have this subject placed before an English audience and by so learned a man as Mr. Aston.

Mr. Osman Edwards, *M.J.S.,* said that Mr. Aston could confer one more benefit on them by translating the whole autobiography. The frank account given by Fukuzawa of his own youthful delinquencies proved that the Japnese were not more perfect than the rest of the world. He was an illustration of the thirst for knowledge possessed by Japanese students, in spite of the difficulties and disadvantages they had to contend with in the way of development. He (Mr. Osman Edwards) had been much impressed while in Japan by the sympathy shown for Fukuzawa during his illness: bulletins were issued daily, as also a long list of the presents, sweetmeats, etc., sent him. He was reverenced as a great man ought to be. Mr. Edwards hoped further details would be given concerning this great and interesting personage, who possessed such in extraordinary influence over young men, and whose intolerance of all religions did not prevent him from seeing the good in all religions, and who from a lowly position became a teacher and bearer of the torch of learning.

Mr. Worthington (Visitor) said that he would like to say a word of admiration of Fukuzawa. Having seen him for a short time at his school, he could bear out what had been said about his influence over young men. Several young Englishmen had been much impressed by his greatness, and many looked upon him as the greatest of Japanese. Mr. Worthington had met many of his pupils who had made their mark in other countries. He himself had called on Fukuzawa as a perfect stranger, with

letters of introduction, and had met with the most perfect welcome. Fukuzawa sat on the floor and explained to him how the art of Japan was not indigenous, but had come from China through Korea to Japan. His hospitality was delightful, and his family, of whom there were a good many sitting on the floor eating rice, formed a charming group. Fukuzawa had been called tho Arnold of Japan.

Inspector-General Turnbull, R.N., *M.J.S.* said the early part of the Paper had most attracted his attention. The Scotch were proud of their clever men and of their struggles to obtain learning, but he doubted if anything in Scotch history could surpass the struggles of Fukuzawa for learning. He heartily wished that the whole story of this wonderful man could be printed for the public.

Miss de Lorez (Visitor) asked if the attitude held by the pupils of Fukuzawa towards him was not, in varying degrees, that of most Japanese pupils towards their masters. One gathered from Lafcadio Hearn's books that the relationship was more that of elder and younger brothers than of master and pupil. Hearn also spoke of the curious fact that the boys themselves seemed to maintain discipline, instead of its being enforced by their superiors, and that it was rarely that the masters expelled pupils but that the pupils did occasionally expel their masters—not from dislike, but if they found that they could not teach them enough. One speaker had pointed out the similarity between the struggles of the Japanese students of Fukuzawa's day and those of the traditional students. One of the results of the Scotchmen's struggles was, that wherever there was a good thing in any part of the habitable globe—there you found a Scotchman! Miss de Lorez wished to add a further prophecy—that it would not be long before you would find a Japanese along with him. Fukuzawa's amazement over a dance which he attended in San Francisco reminded her of a Chinese traveller's description of an English ball as an occasion where marriageable young men and women attired in strange garments met in a brilliantly lighted room and had a "prancing match."

Mr. Bonar (H.B.M. Consul at Yokohama), *M.J.S.,* inquired if any provision had been made for carrying on Fukuzawa's work in Japan.

Mr. C. Kadono, *M.J.S.,* said the Paper and the Discussion which followed were both a surprise and a pleasure to him—the Paper in that it touched only on the earlier part of Fukuzawa's

career, and did not go fully into his work of the last twenty-five or thirty years, which was really the work by which Fukuzawa would be known in Japanese history; but he thought the writer of the Paper was quite right in this, as the audience would probably know all about the work of his late life. As one of Fukuzawa's pupils, he had often wondered that he was not well known here, but to-night he found, to his surprise, that he was mistaken, for many present were acquainted with his work, and some knew the great teacher personally. Mr. Worthington had described Fukuzawa very correctly. Mr. Kadono was unable to speak as to his religious convictions, but knew that he followed very closely the principles of Bentham and Mill as to morals, and this could be very plainly seen in his essays. He denounced Confucius, perhaps too violently. As to the point raised by Mr. Consul Bonar about keeping up the school in Tokio,—there were from 15,000 to 18,000 of Fukuzawa's students living, and they would try to keep up the institution for the sake of his memory, and no doubt they would be able to do so to the credit of its founder and the good of the country. The school had now from 1200 to 1400 students, and was well equipped as to professors and masters. Fukuzawa was a man of the people—Mr. Gladstone and Arnold blended together. Mr. Kadono believed that Fukuzawa had done more than any one else to form the new Japan. His book on "Occidental Civilization," written thirty years ago, was the book which really formed the Japan of to-day. With regard to mining and to insurance, for instance, he (Mr. Kadono) was surprised to find more information in that book than he could himself volunteer. It was not much read now, but what pains Fukuzawa must have taken to write it! He died on 3rd of February of this year (1901), and the audience would be glad to hear that the House of Representatives had passed a resolution of condolence with his family—the first time this had been done for any one not a member of the House itself. Mr. Kadono and those of his compatriots who had studied under Fukuzawa, and were now in London, would hold on the following Saturday a memorial meeting. They were but twenty in number, but as that was about one-third of the total number of Japanese in London, it was a very good proportion.

The Chairman (Mr. A. Diósy) said that they were doubly fortunate in having that evening such an excellent Paper so clearly read, and in being honoured by the presence of their

President, His Excellency the Baron Hayashi, to whom the paper must have been specially interesting, a daughter of His Excellency being married to a son of the late Mr. Fukuzawa Yukichi. The Meeting would be glad to know that a committee was already formed to carry on the work of the school, and that Mr. Nakamigawa Hikozirō was appointed executor. He was probably the nephew referred to as having been sent over to English to study. He (the speaker) knew him intimately twenty-four years ago. When Mr. Diósy saw him last, in Tōkio, in 1899, he was a clever financier and director of almost as many companies as if he were a British Member of Parliament. The *Han* was a clan in the days when clans had a corporate existence, and these feudal times lasted till the beginning of the new period, 1867-68. As to Chinese learning being displaced by Dutch learning, this was not yet entirely so, for the poisonous influence of Chinese philosophy, which had ruined China, had never got a thorough hold of Japan. Mr. D. Goh, their first *Japanese Honorary Secretary,* belonged to one of the hereditary interpreter families of Nagasaki.

They had all gathered from Mr. Aston's account what a delightfully naughty boy Fukuzawa must have been, and it was a revelation to some of what was boiling in the minds of many a young *samurai* in the years just preceding *Meiji*. The amusing incident of the letter from Nakatsu was not quite unknown in our own days, when a telegram home, "kept late at office," was not uncommon. And what an example to our students was the arrangement of translation by relays, so as to get it all done before the book was returned! Mr. Diósy thought there was no voyage in history to compare to that voyage in 1860 unless it was that of the Argonauts. What pluck to start out in a cramped steamer—probably not at all seaworthy! Most likely the *Stonewall Jackson* and the *Ashuelot* were the two steamers purchased in America, and it seems probable that they paid twice over for them. Mr. Diósy called the attention of our public schoolmasters to the indignation meeting that had been described, complaining of too much salary! The year before last he had the pleasure of being present at the athletic sports or Fukuzawa's school in Tōkio. There was an impression about that the physical education of the Japanese was entirely neglected, and that the mind only was educated. This was quite disproved by these sports, at which well-contested races, amusing obstacle-races, high jumps, long jumps, etc., showed evidence of good gymnastic training.

A Vote of Thanks to the Author of the Paper and to Mr. Holme for his reading of it was proposed by Mr. I. Sugi, seconded by Mr. Kadono, and carried unanimously.

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